

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 13008

NODIS

FOR LORD FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

1. REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE, SEPTEMBER 23, 1975,

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. QUOTE:

DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN:

SOME FIFTEEN YEARS AGO PRIME MINISTER HAROLD MACMILLAN
ADDED A NEW AND DURABLE PHRASE TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE WHEN,
IN SPEAKING OF AFRICA, HE SAID, "THE WIND OF CHANGE IS BLOWING
THROUGH THE CONTINENT." WHEN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OPENED,
WESTERN COLONIALISM STOOD AT ITS ZENITH. TODAY, ONLY VESTIGES
OF ALIEN DOMINATION REMAIN. NEVER BEFORE IN HISTORY HAS SO
REVOLUTIONARY A REVERSAL OCCURRED WITH SUCH RAPIDITY. THE
IMPACT OF THIS CHANGE WILL HELP SHAPE OUR WORLD FOR AS FAR
AHEAD AS WE CAN SEE. TODAY WE FEEL THE WINDS OF CHANGE BLOWING
FROM AFRICA -- AND THEY WILL AFFECT THE COURSE WE SET FOR
GENERATIONS TO COME.

THE FIRST OFFICIAL FUNCTION AT WHICH I PRESIDED AS SECRETARY
OF STATE WAS A LUNCHEON HERE FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE THEN THE
WORLD HAS UNDERGONE MOMENTOUS CHANGE -- AS MUCH IN AFRICA AS

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ANYWHERE ELSE. IN AFRICA, THE PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONIAL

EMPIRE HAS COME TO AN END. THE EFFECT OF THAT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE BEING FELT IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND THEIR FULL COURSE IS FAR FROM BEING RUN. ALSO OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, MAJOR CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA ARE CLAIMING MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR ECONOMIC DESTINY AND A GREATER SHARE IN GLOBAL PROSPERITY.

AFRICA CONTINUES TO FACE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS. THE INTEGRAL WEAKNESSES OF ECONOMIES CONTINUE TO POSE PROBLEMS FOR AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, DESPITE THE PROGRESS THEY HAVE MADE. THE ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES ESTABLISHED BY THE COLONIAL POWERS LEFT MANY COUNTRIES VULNERABLE TO ETHNIC STRIFE. IN ADDITION, AS THEIR SOCIETIES CHANGE, AFRICANS ARE FACED WITH THE TASK OF STRENGTHENING THEIR SENSE OF IDENTITY AND PRESERVING THEIR UNIQUE CULTURES. THE JOB OF NATION-BUILDING IN AFRICA IS INDEED FORMIDABLE.

THE BONDS BETWEEN US

THERE IS GROWING INTEREST IN THIS COUNTRY IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS, ITS PROBLEMS AND ITS PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE. THE TIES BETWEEN AFRICAN AND THE UNITED STATES SPAN THE YEARS. TRADITIONALLY AMERICA HAS BEEN DEDICATED TO INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO THE RIGHTS OF MAN. THE SPECIAL IDENTIFICATION OF BLACK AMERICANS WITH THEIR AFRICAN HERITAGE INTENSIFIES OUR BELIEF, AND OUR WILL TO DEMONSTRATE, THAT MEN OF ALL RACES CAN LIVE AND PROSPER TOGETHER.

BECAUSE, OF THESE TIES, AND WITH THE CONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA AND AMERICA BECOMING INCREASINGLY OBVIOUS, AMERICANS OWE IT TO OURSELVES AND TO AFRICA TO DEFINE CLEARLY AND TO STATE CANDIDLY AMERICA'S POLICY TOWARD THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA.

THEREFORE, TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO GO BEYOND THE TOAST USUAL FOR OCCASIONS SUCH AS THIS AND TALK WITH YOU ABOUT SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA.

AMERICA HAS THREE MAJOR CONCERNs REGARDING THE FUTURE OF AFRICA:

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-- THAT AFRICA ATTAIN WELL-BEING FOR ITS PEOPLE AND BECOME A PROSPEROUS REGION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- AN ECONOMIC PARTNER WITH A GREATER STAKE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF A DURABLE WORLD PEACE;

-- THAT SELF-DETERMINATION, RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS BE ACCORDED TO ALL OF AFRICA;

-- AND THAT THE CONTINENT BE FREE OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY OR CONFLICT.

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NEITHER MILITARY ALLIES NOR IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA. AS ADLAI STEVENSON ONCE SAID HERE AT THE UNITED NATIONS, "AFRICA FOR AFRICANS MEANS AFRICAN FOR AFRICANS, AND NOT AFRICA AS A HUNTING GROUND FOR ALIEN AMBITIONS."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA HAVE ENTERED THE POST-COLONIAL ERA OF INDEPENDENCE WITH HIGH ASPIRATIONS. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS BECOME BOTH THE GOAL AND A SYMBOL OF THEIR DRIVE FOR A MORE SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. AFRICAN INCOMES HAVE RISEN RAPIDLY IN THE LAST TWO DECADES. AFRICA'S OVERALL TRADE HAS INCREASED ABOUT FOURFOLD IN THE LAST 15 YEARS.

BUT DEVELOPMENT HOPES IN AFRICA ARE TOO OFTEN CRUSHED BY THE VAGARIES OF THE WEATHER AND THE SHOCKS OF WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC INSTABILITY. NO CONTINENT SUFFERS SO CRUELLY AS AFRICA WHEN CROPS FAIL FOR LACK OF RAIN. NO CONTINENT BEARS THE BURDEN MORE THAN AFRICA WHEN PRICES OF PRIMARY COMMODITIES FLUCTUATE VIOLENTLY IN RESPONSE TO CHANGING CONDITIONS IN THE WORLD ECONOMY.

AS WE TAKE UP THE TASK OF SHAPING A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, THE PROBLEMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA ARE VERY MUCH IN OUR MINDS. THE PURPOSE OF THIS NEW COOPERATION IS WIDENED ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND THE CREATION OF A WORLD ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE A REALISTIC OPPORTUNITY OF ACHIEVING THEIR DEVELOPMENT GOALS.

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THE UNITED STATES OFFERED A COMPREHENSIVE PRACTICAL APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS APPROACH FORMED THE BASIS FOR A HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT CONSENSUS AMONG THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH WE HOPE WILL HAVE MARKED THE END OF A PERIOD OF FRUITLESS CONFRONTATION AND MISUNDERSTANDING. THESE ARE ITS MAJOR AIMS:

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FOR LORD FROM SECRETARY

-- TO MAKE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LESS VULNERABLE TO DRASTIC
ECONOMIC SETBACKS, ARISING FROM INSTABILITY IN EXPORT EARNINGS
AND IN FOOD PRODUCTION;

-- TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC GROWTH BY IMPROVING ACCESS TO
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO CAPITAL, TECHNOLOGY, AND MANAGEMENT SKILLS;

-- TO PROVIDE SPECIAL AND DIFFERENTIATED TREATMENT FOR
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN TRADING RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS;

-- TO MAKE COMMODITY MARKETS FUNCTION MORE SMOOTHLY AND
BENEFICIALLY FOR BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS; AND

-- TO DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS OF THE POOREST
COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES PROPOSALS APPLY TO ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
BUT MANY OF THEM ARE PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE TO AFRICA:

-- SIXTEEN OF THE WORLD'S TWENTY-FIVE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
ARE IN AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
IS INCREASINGLY CONCENTRATED ON THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.
/BESIDES SPECIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF DROUGHT, OUR REGULAR AID
APPROPRIATION FOR AFRICA THIS FISCAL YEAR IS OVER \$100 MILLION, AN
INCREASE OF ABOUT 60 PERCENT OVER LAST YEAR./

MARGINAL NOTE ON PREVIOUS SENTENCE BY HAK. QUOTE (THIS

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DOESN'T SOUND LIKE MUCH TO ME. DROP IT.) UNQUOTE.

-- OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO AFRICA IS THE CREATION OF A DEVELOPMENT SECURITY FACILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND WHICH WILL HELP MAKE UP SHORTFALLS IN EXPORTS FOR THOSE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHOSE EXPORTS ARE SO OFTEN DEPENDENT ON EARNINGS FROM A FEW, HIGHLY VOLATIVE PRIMARY COMMODITIES.

-- BUT STABILIZING EARNINGS IS NOT ENOUGH. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO IMPROVE MARKETS FOR INDIVIDUAL COMMODITIES -- INCLUDING COFFEE, COCOA, AND COPPER -- WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO AFRICA.

-- WE ALSO PROPOSE TO DOUBLE OUR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE TO AGRICULTURE.

-- ANOTHER NEW FEATURE OF A MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF ASSISTANT TO AFRICA IS OUR PROPOSAL TO SUPPORT THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND. WE WILL RAISE OUR PROPOSED CONTRIBUTION TO \$25 MISSION TO THIS NEW ARM OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK.

-- BESIDES OUR UNITED NATIONS PROPOSALS, THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS ATTEMPTED TO COALESCE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR A SUBSTANTIAL, COORDINATED, LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TO ACHIEVE THE BASIC ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE SAHELIAN COUNTRIES. WE HAVE SUPPORTED THIS EFFORT ALREADY WITH MASSIVE ASSISTANCE OF MORE THAN \$100 MILLION.

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

THE KEY TO SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT OVER THE LONG RUN IS EXPANDING TRADE AND INVESEMENT. GROWING EXPORT OF MANUFACTURED AS WELL AS PRIMARY PRODUCTS GENERATE THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE NEEDED TO BUY THE IMPORTS TO FEUL FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED STATES PROVIDES A LARGE AND GROWING MARKET FOR THE PRODUCTS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. OUR TRADE WITH AFRICA HAD GROWN TO ABOUT 8 BILLION IN 1974, ALMOST EIGHT TIMES THE VOLUME OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN TRADE IN 1960. THE RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES SHOULD PROVIDE ENHANCED ACCESS FOR THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO OUR

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MARKETS.

PRIVATE INVESTMENT FLOWS BRING CAPITAL, MANAGEMENT, AND TECHNOLOGY THAT ARE ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF SUCH INVESTMENT FLOWS TO AFRICA. DURECT UNITED STATES INVESTMENT IN AFRICA HAS INCREASED MORE THAN FOUR TIMES SINCE 1960.

WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE STRIING INCREASES THAT HAVE OCCURED
IN THE MAGNITUDE AND RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDEPENDENT BLACK
AFRICA. WE EXPECT THIS TREND TO CONTINUE AND WILL DO WHAT WE CAN
TO ASSURE THAT IT DOES. I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT
OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS WILL GREATLY STRENGTHEN THE
ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN US AND MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE NEED TO ACHIEVE A MUCH GREATER MEASURE OF ECONOMIC
PROGRESS IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO AFRICA. HOWEVER, AT THE SAME
TIME, THE CONTINENT CONTINUES TO FACE SOME EXTREMELY DIFFICULT
POLITICAL PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE PROBLEMS THERE MUST BE SOLVED. IT IS OUR EARNEST
HOPE THAT THEY CAN BE SOLVED PEACEFULLY. IN THIS, WE ARE MINDFUL
OF THE LUSAKS MANEFESTO, WHICH COMBINES A COMMITMENT TO
HUMAN DIGNITY AND EQUALITY WITH A PERCEPTIVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE
DEPTH AND COMPLEXITY OF THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
IT CALLS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE GRAVE PROBLEMS IN THAT
AREA.

NO PROBLEM THERE IS MORE COMPLEX THAN THE RACIAL ISSUE
IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE
SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY ARE WELL KNOWN. APARTHEID IS REPUGNANT
TO AMERICANS; IT IS CONTRARY TO ALL WE BELIEVE IN AND STAND FOR. THE
UNITED STATES HAS LONG BEEN ON RECORD AS STRONGLY OPPOSING
APARTHEID. WE FERVENTLY HOPE THAT THE LIMITED CHANGES WHICH
HAVE OCCURRED IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL LEAD TO ACCELERATED AND BROADER
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, AND THAT RACIAL SEGREGATION AND
DISCRIMINATION WILL GIVE WAY TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR

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ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

NAMIBIA

THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT NAMIBIA.
WE FULLY ACCEPT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF
JUSTICE'S ADVISORY OPINION OF 1971 AFFIRMING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S
1966 DECISION WHICH TERMINATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN MANDATE FOR
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES HAS ENDEAVORED TO AVOID
ANY ACTS THAT WOULD TEND TO LEGITIMZIE SOUTH AFRICA'S ADMINISTRATION
OF THE TERRITORY. WE DISCOURAGE INVESTMENT IN NAMIBIA BY AMERICAN
FIRMS AND WITHHOLD US GOVERNMENT COMMERCIAL FACILITIES FROM TRADE
WITH THE TERRITORY. WE REPEATEDLY HAVE PROTESTED VIOLATIONS OF
THE RIGHTS OF BLACK NIMIBIANS BY THE AUTHORITIES THERE.

WE WELCOME PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS THAT THEY
ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR
FOR NAMIBIA. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FIRMLY BELIEVES
THAT ALL NAMIBIANS SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS
THEIR VIEWS FREELY, AND UNDER UN SUPERVISION, ON THE POLITICAL
AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY. I SAID SO TO THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND WE HAVE EXPRESSED THIS VIEW CONSISTENTLY
TO SOUTH AFRICA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK
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NODIS

FOR LORD FROM SECRETARY

UNIVERSALITY

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS TRIED IN VARIOUS WAYS TO EXERT A
POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA. I
SHOULD ADD, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE OPPOSED, AND WILL CONTINUE
TO OPPOSE, PROPOSALS FOR ACTIONS THAT SEEM TO US INCOMPATIBLE
WITH THE UN CHARTER. IN PARTICULAR, WE WILL NOT RETREAT FROM
OUR OPPOSITION TO THE EXPULSION OF ANY MEMBER OF THE UNITED
NATIONS. WE BELIEVE EXPULSION WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE BEST INTERESTS
OF ALL UN MEMBERS AND COULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE CLIMATE OF
INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. UNIVERSALITY IS A
BASIC OBJECTIVE WE STAND FOR IN THIS BODY. DEFENSE OF THE CHARTER
PROVISIONS FOR FULL EXERCISE BY MEMBERS OF THEIR PREROGATIVES IS
ANOTHER. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THESE PRINCIPLES CAN BE IGNORED
IN ONE CASE AND APPLIED IN ANOTHER. THIS IS WHY, DESPITE OUR
DISAPPROVAL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DOMESTIC POLICIES, WE AFFIRM THAT IT
HAS THE SAME RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER AS ANY OTHER MEMBER.

RHODESIA

FOR THIS PAST DECADE, RHODESIA HAS BEEN A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUE. THE FORCIBLE MAINTENANCE OF AN ILLEGAL REGIME BASED ON WHITE SUPREMACY IS UNDERSTANDABLY OF DEEP CONCERN TO AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHARES THAT CONCERN. OVER THE PAST YEAR THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED CAREFULLY THE ATTEMPT TO REACH A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. WE HAVE

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NOTED, IN PARTICULAR, THE STATESMANLIKE EFFORTS OF THE LEADERS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES -- ESPECIALLY PRESIDENT KUANDA, PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, PRESIDENT KHAMA, PRESIDENT NYERE AND PRESIDENT MACHEL -- TO AVERT VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED. WE WOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO CONTINUE IN THEIR DIFFICULT TASKS OF BRINGING TOGETHER THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

EXCEPT FOR IMPORTS OF MINERALS UNDER THE BYRD AMENDMENT, THE UNITED STATES HAS SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERED TO THE UN'S ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. PRESIDENT FORD IS PERSISTING IN THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT AND HOPES THIS WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING THE CURRENT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

FORMER PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

SINCE WE LAST SAT DOWN TOGETHER, THREE MORE AFRICAN NATIONS -- MOZAMBIQUE, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, AND CAPE VERDE -- HAVE BECOME INDEPENDENT. WE WELCOME THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND LOOK FORWARD TO ESTABLISHING REGULAR RELATIONS WITH THEM. WE STAND READY TO ASSIST IN THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AND WE WELCOME THEIR REPRESENTATIVES HERE TODAY.

EVENTS IN ANGOLA HAVE TAKE A DISTRESSING TURN, WITH WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE MARRING THE PROMISE OF INDEPENDENCE AND DIMMING, FOR THE NEAR FUTURE AT LEAST, THE TERRITORY'S BRIGHT ECONOMIC PROSPECTS. WE HOPE THAT ALL PARTIES IN THAT TRAGIC SITUATION WILL WORK TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR A FAIR AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION

TWENTY YEARS AGO THERE WERE ONLY THREE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES. TODAY YOU COMPRIZE MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THE INCREASED IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA'S NATURAL RESOURCES ARE THE KEY ELEMENTS IN AFRICA'S STRENGTHENED ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

FREQUENTLY YOU ARE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE OF COURSE DO NOT EXPECT YOU TO BE IN CONCERT WITH US ON ALL INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. WE ASK ONLY THAT AS WE RESPECT YOUR INTERESTS,

ARE MINDFUL OF YOUR RIGHTS AND SYMPATHIZE WITH YOUR CONCERNS,

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YOU GIVE US THE SAME CONSIDERATION. LET US ADDRESS OUR DIFFERENCES OPENLY AND AS FRIENDS, IN THE RECOGNITION THAT ONLY BY COOPERATION CAN WE ACHIEVE THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES.

A COMMON EFFORT TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES BEFORE US IS INDISPENSABLE. LET US BE GUIDED BY THE PRAGMATISM AND THE SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION WHICH WERE SO EVIDENT DURING THE SPECIAL SESSION. LET US REPLACE THE STERILITY OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE PROMISE INHERENT IN COOPERATION. LET US SEEK DILIGENTLY FOR AREAS OF AGREEMENT, AND STRIVE TO BRIDGE ANY GAPS IN OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

A HIGHLY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN POLICY IS TO STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA. IT MUST BE A RELATIONSHIP THAT REFLECTS THE NEW REALITIES OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND OF A SHRINKING WORLD. WE SUPPORT YOUR INSISTENCE ON SELF-DETERMINATION, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE WANT TO HELP YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP YOUR ECONOMIES AND IMPROVE THE WELL BEING OF YOUR PEOPLE. LIKE YOURS, OUR BELIEF IN RACIAL JUSTICE IS UNALTERABLE.

A NEW BEGINNING

IN AFRICA A VAST AND EXCITING PROCESS OF CHANGE NOW CALLS THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD. ALTHOUGH INFLUENCE BY IDEAS AND TECHNIQUES FROM OUTSIDE AFRICA, THE CHANGES WE ARE WITNESSING ARE DEEPLY ENDOWED BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLES' LIVELY AWARENESS OF A SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INHERITANCE WHOLLY INDIGENOUS TO THE CONTINENT. WE IN THE

WEST CAN BENEFIT FROM A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THIS, JUST AS YOU IN AFRICA CAN BENEFIT FROM SOME ASPECTS OF WESTERN THOUGHT AND TECHNOLOGY. ENDEAVORS FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING CAN DRAW US CLOSER TOGETHER.

IT IS MY PROFOUND HOPE THAT THIS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE REMEMBERED AS A TIME WHEN WE BEGAN TO COME TOGETHER AS TRULY UNITED NATIONS, A TIME WHEN WE EARNESTLY SEARCHED FOR REASONS TO AGREE, A TIME WHEN THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF MANKIND BEGAN TO BE FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

THE NATIONS OF AFRICA WILL HAVE A MAJOR PART IN DETERMINING WHETHER THIS WILL COME TO PASS.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE RAISE YOUR GLASSES WITH ME IN
A TOAST TO THE FUTURE OF AFRICA, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY,
AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN A WORLD OF PEACE. UNQUOTE.
KISSINGER

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